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PRII ADEI PHIA, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1915. Death does not make a martyr-it is the cause

for which he lays down his life. A Lesson From Terre Haute

ASITUATION of enormous importance to Haute, Indiana. There have been numerous occasions in America when communities have risen in revolt and swept into the gutter political associations which preyed on the public. Never before, however, has the might and power of the Federal Government been invoked to rescue a nunicipality from the slough of corruption. The Terre Haute case, therefore, presents a new method of attack which may be utilized by any municipality in the nation, in circumstances where the local judiciary and authorities, by one means or another, have become subservient to political interests and can no longer be relied on to execute justice.

The Federal Government contends that in any election where Congressmen are candidates the honesty of said e'ection is a matter of interest to the United States, and that jurisdiction properly lies in the United States ourts to prosecute those guilty of fraud or of conspiracy to defraud. Judge Anderson has upheld the indictments of a Federal Grand Jury. Unless he is overruled by higher authority, hereafter it will be possible for municipalities and States to take into United States courts charges of irregularities at elections in which Congressmen are chosen.

The Terre Haute case is of particular importance to Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. For this reason the EVENING LEDGER assigned a member of its staff to visit Terre Haute and conduct an exhaustive investigation into the methods and means used by good citizens to put an end to the election dehaucheries of which they were the victims. The result of this investigation is a series of articles, the first of which appears in this issue of the EVENING LEDGER.

Of the 114 persons indicted in Indiana, 87 have pleaded guilty. The intricacles of the Democratic Organization, which has been trapped there, and the remarkable part played by the women in bringing about the indictments, form a chapter in American politics that reads like fiction, but is stranger than fiction because it is true.

Mr. Bryan's Discretion

If the duties of the State Department are so uncommonly arduous as to justify the employment of additional advisers at public ex pense, they might justify the presence in the national capital of the Secretary of State .-

OUR esteemed contemporary is dilating Mr. Bryan from his desk in the State Department in these trying times, and the employment by the department of skilled international lawyers, are matters for congratulation rather than for regret. And if the distinguished exhorter, enjoying the emoluments of the office held by Thomas Jefferson, Daniel Webster, Thomas F. Bayard, John Hay and El hu Root, has discovered that there are some things that he does not know and ought not to meddle with he should be encouraged to continue to practice the discretion of absenting himself from his post rather than be prodded into attempt ng to do the impossible.

The University's Anniversary

WHEN a group of kindly disposed persons four-ded a charitable school in this city In 1740, they did not dream that it would grow into one of the greatest universities in the world. But that is what the University of Pennsylvania is today, one hundred and seventy-five years from its humble beginnings.

The University enjoys an international fame and it attracts a larger proportion of Its students from foreign countries than any other American university. Its schools of medicine, jurisprudence and dentistry, to may nothing of its other departments, have set the standard for its rivals. A teaching faculty of 560 is required to give instruction to its 6332 students, and it has a library of nearly 500,000 volumes, ready for the consuitation of all seekers after knowledge. Although Harvard was founded about 100 years earlier, the University of Pennsylvania. has graduated more students.

We are so familiar with this great institution on the banks of the Schuylkill that we are in danger of forgetting how big it is and how it attracts young men from all parts of the world to its lecture rooms. It is a worthy product of the spirit of the city founded by Penn and made distinguished by Franklin and his successors.

Little Men for a Big Job

Friffig men chosen by the President to make Lup the first Federal Trade Commission do not command the instant confidence of the country. The commission is to exercise the same supervision over manufacture and sale of goods that the Interstate Commerce Commission exercises over their distribution by the railroads and otherwise. It can go about its work in a petty, meddlesome manner, by assuming that the big business men of the country are "crooks" and in toable of doing honest business. In some erters of the country this is the common minimu of the people. If a man does more siness than his usighbor there is some line wrong with him and he must be mant to book. This feeling was largely couldle for the creation of the new com-

Provident has chosen two of the nig members of the rapidly disoring Progressive party, and three the in his effect to obey the prest-The law that not more than three of

party. One of the Democrats comes from a town of 3500 population in Georgia; another, while his appointment was pending, sent a telegram to Congress indorsing the shippurchase bill, thereby showing that he was willing to take his cue from the White House, and the third Democrat is the present Commissioner of Corporations in the Department of Commerce, a capable man, but not distinguished in any way.

If it had been possible for the President to perauade some of the great industrial and professional leaders of the nation to serve on this comm ssion, his appointments would have been received with greater satisfaction in the Senate, as well as in the country at large. Perhaps he did not ask them.

They Shout Economy and Plan Extravagance

WINERE must be economy," shout the opponents of rapid transit. Then they proceed to economize by proposing to build three miles of elevated rallroad through a farm district.

"The city cannot afford to be plunged into a scheme the ultimate cost of which no one can now pretend to limit." Quite true. That is why Director Taylor has spent months in a most exhaustive study of the entire situation, diagnosing lines of traffic, probable volume, etc. He is able not only to limit final cost, but to show plainly just what the cost will be. It is because the city must not be plunged into a bottomless mire of debt that the well-digested Taylor plans must be followed instead of th absurd plans of a clique of men who have given the subject no study whatever and apparently have no other purpose than to prevent rapid transit entirely by handing over the city to the Rapid Transit Company bound and shackled. If the Connelly transit scheme were adopted, not in 50 years would real rapid transit be possible.

"The city cannot afford, liberal as its opportunity for borrowing money may be, to load itself with such burdens of debt that an increase in the tax rate would be made inevitable." That is why the Taylor plan contemplates no increase in the tax rate. The constitutional amendment will ease the annual payments, admit capitalization of expenses during period of construction and a short time thereafter; the increase in property valuations which inevitably follows high-speed facilities will proportionately increase aggregate tax receipts, and there is some reason to believe that the new system will be used by passengers, all of whom will pay fares. There will be no increase of tax rates under the Taylor plans; an increase would be certain were the Connelly flasco adopted.

"The loop would be the most expensive of all the proposed subway work." The motor is the most expensive part of an automobile. Who would build railway cars without exits. or steam locomotives without boilers? An elevator in a shaft will run, but it is perfectly useless unless people can get in and out of it. The loop is the heart of the transit system, the distribution centre to which all the lines lead and without which all sums spent on the other part would be wasted money.

The holdbacks, the obstructionists, the timid neurotics, the panicky individuals, the men whose interest it is to keep Philadelphia where it is and prevent all progress, shake convulsively at the thought of expense when transit which would be particularly beneficial to them and worthless to everybody else, But a new day has dawned. Men know that there is no danger of bankruptey, no financial or other reason why the city should not have what other cities of the same class already have. They understand pretty well the real reasons influencing obstructionists who shout economy in one breath and plead for utterly extravagant enterprises in the other. They know the ordinance introduced at the recent session of Councils for what it is, a deliberate and vicious attempt to trick and defraud the city. They know what obstructionists mean when they say they are for transit and proceed meanwhile to stick knives into it. The Connelly kind of transit is peculiarly satisfactory to holdbacks, for they understand that the Public Service Commission would never sanction such wanton waste of public funds on so technically absurd an undertaking. The opponents of the Taylor plan protest their innocence too much. They may try to mask their designs in verbiage, but the stain on their hands shows even through

Drawn to the Shrine

LL DAY yesterday there was a procession A of visitors to Independence Hall. The exercises there consisted of little more than a flag raising. The simple, dignified building in which the great Declaration was adopted is a magnet that draws to it by an irresistible attraction all those who dream of liberty. The foreign-born who have come here to get what they could not find abroad move through its halls and rooms with rever ent awe. Their little children, conscious that the place is not like other places, walk about and breathe in something of the spirit that inspired the early patriots. They will dream of those great days, and the thoughts of what was done and said there will swell in their hearts till they long to prove themselves worthy inheritors of the estate of freedom marked out there in 1776.

The old Hall is a shrine in a very real sense. It is the most precious possession of this city and of this continent, not because of its perfect architecture, but because that brick shell in the square stands for an idea that thrills the soul.

Men are wearing "fresk" hats at Palm Beach as well as on Market street.

Who will write a transit "Murseillaise" calling the freemen of the city "To Arma!"

The snipers who are planning to harry the Mayor will make ammunition for the independents to fire back at them pext full.

If the historians of Norristown are won of course they should control their historical society; but the women have curiously reestimate plentif belong to the same | elected the men officers of their society.

HOW TERRE HAUTE CRUSHED THE "GANG"

Federal Interference in State Election.

a chapter replete with political debauchery, political crime, political bossism, bi-partisanship and everything the word "Organizaticn" has come to signify in American polltics; and yet the chapter is one of victory for civic hon sty.

It is one which tells of a city awakened, of a titanic battle waged by men and women to down a plundering political ring, of a struggle between civic rightecouness and an unholy alliance of liquor, contractor bossism and a debauched ballot. Moreover, it is a chapter of collightenment, wherein may be found the solution of many problems confronting cities which smart under the lash of a dominant political organization.

Gone is all the political arrogance, the control of Councils, the mastery of a corrupt magistrate system, of office power, of contract grab-an Organization house built on the sands of political power has fallen and the

One hundred and fourteen officials, their ward leaders and tools, have been indicted by a United States Grand Jury on the charge of conspiracy. Eighty-seven of these have pleaded guilty to all the charges, have turned State's evidence, and placed the responsibility for their wrongdoing squarely on "the men higher up.

The 27 men-including a Mayor, a County Judge, a Sheriff, minor officials and lieutenants-who pleaded "not guilty," are now awaiting trial before Judge A. B. Anderson, in the United States Circuit Court at In-

While the story of the arrests, of the greatest political clean-up ever made in an American city, is one of intense dramatic value and human interest, combining, as it does, the laying bare of one of the worst political machines in the country, and the remarkable fight made by women to improve and rectify conditions, the fundamental value of the situation lies in the action taken by the United States Government.

For the first time in the history of the into a State and made the demand that national elections shall be conducted honestly. Haute case goes beyond Indiana. It is national in its scope.

The Government is making a test to determine whether it has the power to compel officials and voters to comply with the laws, holding that, in an election wherea Senator or a Representative is to be chosen, those who commit fraud in the polling place defraud the United States.

A Federal Test Case

The general proposition is this: Has the Government the right to interfere in elections which heretofore have been regarded as strictly State matters? The Attorney General States has declared that the Government has jurisdiction; Judge Anderson, before whom the dynamite conspirators. whose arraignment followed the attack on the Los Angeles Times building were tried, and who is one of the ablest Judges in the country, has likewise declared his court has jurisdiction, and will try the accused men.

Upon the outcome of the case, which will undoubtedly go to the Supreme Court, hangs the definite decision of the question of super vision of elections by the Government.

True, the stand taken by the Government and the ultimate disposition of the Terre Haute case will not affect strictly municipal elections, except indirectly, but the glaring night which has been turned upon this city and the methods employed to bring about the Government investigation will have a farreaching result.

At any rate, the panic caused throughout the Middle West, the wholesale confessions and the stand taken by the Government will have a lasting national influence-at least at the time a Congressman or Senator is to he chosen by the people.

Terre Haute's Shame

Terre Haute has come to be known as "the hell hole of Indiana." It has been stamped by the Government white slave agents as the most wicked city in the country. While there were possibly more cases of thuggery at the polls at the last election, more open violations of the law, the system and the organization which controlled city and county present a striking parallel to that of Philadelphia and the men who are at its head. Identical was the contractor-bossism, the liquor domination, the patronage power, the bi-partisan influence.

Terre Haute has had all of these. She has turned millions into the hands of the favored contractors, has voted for those who propped up contractor control, has permitted the Taggart machine to rule supreme and gather in the taxes with slight return to the taxpayers.

Unaware of that latent power which eventually swept these men from their positions, which deposed the "liquor king" of Indiana and his agents from their stand behind the politicians, the citizens permitted this Democratic bipartisan machine to throttle the will of the people. Smarting under the lash of tyrannous leaders, the people time after time made attempts to overturn the machine, but, with every branch of the municipal government in the hands of the leaders, with the courts favorable to the perpetrators of political crime, no redress

was to be found. Gradually the citizens sank into a state of letharmy, into a state of "what's-the-use." Believing that many who desired honest reform were insincers, falling to see that any victory, no matter how small, was a step toward honest government, and self-con vinced that "the gang" was so strongly intresched in City Hall, Councils and county offices that a miracle gione could dislodge it. the Terre Haute electorate sat complacently back and watched a systematic office and contract planders.

Aside from the herricine statistics in the personnel of the force Hatts and Political

With Political Conditions Similar to Those Here the People Woke From Lethargy and Used Their Power-First Instance of

By IRWIN L. GORDON

ANEW chapter has been written in the annals of American municipalities. It is

Terre Haute, Ind., has overthrown "the The Organization which for years fattened upon the giving of franchises, municipal contracts and liquor tribute, and intrenched itself through unlimited patronage. has fallen. The doors of a United States penitentlary now stare the leaders in the face.

place thereof shall know it no more.

Eighty-seven Pleaded Guilty

dianapolis.

United States the Government has stepped For the first time in the history of the United States, the Government has caused the arrest of city officials, election officers and repeaters and charged them with conspiracy for debauching the ballot. In short, the Terre

The People Won the Fight Before the United States Senate a charge

whirlwind.

was made against Senator Boies Penrose to the effect that \$1,000,000 was spent by the liquor interests of Pennsylvania to secure his return to the Senate. Newspapers repeated the accusation. The people, however, did not arise and demand an investigation. It was shelved by both Republican and Democratic politicians in Congress.

In Indiana the people arose and demanded that a proper investigation be made-not a senatorial probe, but a real, sincere, nonpolitical investigation. They based their demand upon the known facts that a "slush fund" had been raised, that the saloonkeepers and brewers had rendered their tribute, that thousands of fraudulent votes had been cast.

phia political leaders, their organizations

The overthrow of the Organization at this

time is all the more remarkable when it is

realized that the entire police force, the fire

department-every city department-the City

Council, County Commissioners and virtually

the entire system in Southwestern Indiana

was under the thumb of Tom Taggart, a

political boss of Indiana; assisted by Craw-

ford Fairbanks, Taggart's business partner.

"Brewery King of the Middle West" and the

wealthiest man in the State, and Donn M.

Roberts, Mayor of Terre Haute, the highest

Political arrogance can go so far and no

farther. At last the rebellion point is reached.

It came in Terre Haute. It came like a

The liquor candidate must be elected: the

bipartisan tools must take office; a crooked

Judge must be placed on the bench-every

office from United States Senator down to

Road Commissioner must be retained by the

Organization! Illegal votes must be cast, a

"slush fund" must be raised!

official caught in the Government dragnet.

John E. Reyburn, Mayor.

How was it done?

It was ascertained that fully 2500 illegal votes had been registered, the exact number stricken from the lists in Uniontown, Fayette County, Pennsylvania, where State Senator Crow, chairman of the Republican State Committee, is the Penrose lieutenant.

On election day the Organization voted repeaters, as they have done for years in the first 14 Philadelphia wards: citizens were beaten and prevented from voting-in short. an election similar in every detail to the elections of this city was held. Against the system which made these

things possible the Government launched a probe. The task seemed hopeless. A house of cards, however, soon tumbles. Backed by the women of the city, the women who first called the attention of the Federal authorities to Terre Haute's condition, the work began.

One of the least cogs of the Organizationa habitue of the Tenderloin-confessed. He implicated his saloonkeeper. This man confessed and drew in the precinct leader. He in turn became a Government witness, bringing his ward leader to the bar of justice. Then came the "men higher up," the brains and pocketbooks of the Organization.

Exactly how this Organization was built, how it worked and how it was wrecked will be told in subsequent articles.

The Subtleties of Music. The true musician cares very little for you definite ideas, or things that can be expressed by words; he knows you can give him these What he sighs for is the expression of the imof painted forms and oppressive substances to and the vague and yet perfect rapture of his dream in the wild, invisible beauty of his divine mistress.—Hugh Haweis.

WHERE THE WEST BEGINS Out where the handelasp's a little stronger,
Out where a smile dwells a little longer,
That's where the West begins.
Out where the sun is a little brighter,
Where the snows that fall are a tride whiter,
Where the bonds of home are a wee bit tighter.
That's where the West begins.

Out where the skies are a trifle bluer, Out where friendahip's a little truer, That's where the West begins. Out where a fresher breeze is blowing. Where there's izughter in every streamlet flow Where there's more of reaping and less of sow-That's where the West begins.

Out where the world is in the making, Where fewer hearts with despair are aching. That's where the West begins. Where there's more of singing and less of sigh-

Where there's more of giving and less of buying,
and a mun makes friends without haif trying.
That's where the West begins.

-Arthur Charmen, in Decree Republican.

SO FAR, GOOD



identical. Indeed, were it not for the inroads made into the Philadelphia machine by the Blankenburg administration, robbing it as it did of the police department and preventing wholesale contract gathering, the two cities might be considered politically one. Terre Haute, until the time of the ar-By KENNETH MACGOWAN rest of the Mayor and his followers, was a small Philadelphia as it was under the late

By KENNE I think the arguments against stage children are about as consistent as some of the arguments against woman suffrage. I say without the slightest hesitation that there is more danger to the moral welfare of the child going back and forth in the streets to the school and in those things he learns through association in the school than there is in being on the stage under a law that guarantees any sort of reasonable protection for its physical and moral welfare.—Judge Ben B. Lindsey.

WHEN the child labor law is finally passed at Harrisburg, it must make some provisions for the stage-child. If it is a blanket law, prohibiting the employment of all children under a certain age in any occupation whatsoever, it will, of course, drive the child actor from Philadelphia theatres and prevent the production here of many interesting plays. If it excepts the stage-child from its prohibitions, it may be of more value to the playgoer, but it will not do its duty by the child. In work done by Judge Lindsey in Denver there seems to be a hint of a far wiser way of handling the matter.

A Double Liberty

Liberty for the stage-child is the slogan of Judge Lindsey's newest fight. Liberty for the talented youngster to follow an art that is also education and play. And liberty for the poor little slave of musical comedy, burlesque and vaudeville. The first he would free from the prohibitory laws of many States. The latter he would liberate from an employment that exploits his youth, cuts him off from mental development and even

The curious part of the fight is the opposition. The managers of musical comedy, cheap vaudeville and burlesque-yes. But why such people as Jane Addams, men and women serving with Judge Lindsey on the National Child Labor Committee? should Judge Lindsey, in seeking the child's protection as well as its liberty, meet the same public-spirited opposition that confronted the committee of dramatists-including Percy Mackaye and Augustus Thomaswhen they argued against the enaction of the prohibitory child labor law of Illinois, which lumped stage children with factory

For the Child, Not the Drama And the rest of the opposition-who can

it be but the cheaper managers in false beards and frock coats? Haul out that old favorite, the Red Herring. Judge Lindsey, they say, is the unintentional tool of the Shuberts and Frohman and all the rest that want to bring child-actors into Boston and Chicago. Judge Lindsey himself doesn't think so. He is not fighting for the managers; they would prefer total noninterference. He is not fighting for dramatic art; he knows that art must accommodate itself to man's good, not man be bent to art's. He puts the emphasis in the true place—the true place in all things-upon the human element. He is in the fight for the sake of the child.

The children brought him into it. He met stage-children and saw what fine young beings they were, even when circumstances were not the best. He compared them with factory children that came to him in Denver. And he concluded: "I have never known a factory or a sweatshop child that was anxious to do its work. I have never known a stage-child that didn't find a great delight in its part."

There are only two States that have anything approaching proper laws in regard to the stage-child. There are only two that do not allow his unrestricted exploitation on the one hand, or on the other try to drive him from that stage and end in sanctioning infringements of the worst sort. They are Colorado and Louisiana.

Prohibition That Does Not Work

By the laws of Massachusetts, Illinois and Oregon no child may appear upon the professional stage. This prohibition is, of course, merely a part of the general child labor laws; but it is praised as preventing the employment of children in chesp theatres where they would be under a bad moral influence As a matter of fact the prohibition does nothing of the sort. Its effect is the very opposite. There is no public sentiment behind this portion of the law, and the result is wholesale evasion in the less prominent and more disreputable theatres. Mr. Davis, factory inspector of Illinois, has said that there were more children on the stage and unpro tected in Illinois, under a prohibitive law, than ever before in the State's history. Unfortunately, the law does hold for the better theatres, where there would be ideal conditions of employment. A reputable manager is naturally chary of incurring a public suit and a fine. Thus the worthy theatre is error

CHILD-LABOR IN THE PLAYHOUSE

What Judge Lindsey and Colorado Have Done to Liberate the Stage-child Without Depriving Him of His Life-art-Regulation by the Juvenile Judge Instead of Prohibition.

> gled by a prohibition which has no effect where it is really needed. In the remaining 41 States there are no laws really worth mentioning, either to protect or to prohibit. One result, of course, is the same as in Massachusetts and Illinois; children may appear under the worst possible conditions. For the rest, worthy drams is

simply benefiting at the expense of the exploited children in the wrong sort of theatres. That is only part of the situation in the States outside Colorado and Louisiana Much worse, there is no guarantee of proper conditions of employment. Children are acting in companies from which they should be excluded, under circumstances neither merally nor hygienically good. Their hours of performance are not strictly limited. They are not given proper educational opportunities And their pay-except for a few phenonenally gifted youngsters on Broadway-is

far below a decent standard. They are size ply exploited. Real Protection for the Child And now what have Colorado and Louisana done about it? They have adopted law meeting certain general conditions diffine by Judge Lindsey. They do not problet they license. An authority such as the Jovenile Court of the capital grants permits for stage children to appear within the State under certain conditions fixed by the court The manager must present a bond of from \$2000 to \$5000, underwritten by a surety company. Any violation ditions renders the bond forfeit, with be fur-

ther litigation than a brief hearing before the court issuing the permit. The conditions proposed by Judge Lindsey for Colorado are comprehensive. Some d them he has already secured, though his plan, even in Colorado, is not yet fully realized. The salary, first of all, must be such as the courts think fair; in Colorado H H at least \$25 a week. Proper guardianshipparental or otherwise-is secured. If the mother or guardian, traveling with the child. is not fitted to teach it, the manager must supply a dutor. The hours of appearance must allow of a certain minimum for schooling, and performances are limited to right a week. Certificates of health, requirements

as to sleeping cars and the inspection of lodgings are also provided for. Manifestly some such national law would solve the situation in the whole touring the tem. Getting it is another matter. Judge Lindsey, realizing this, has worked out a scheme by which the enactment of such a law in no more than four of the important States would insure its enforcement in the rest. For a manager refusing to agree to conditions set by a general committee New York, created by the Juvenile Courts and the friendly managers, would find himself cut off from many profitable beckings And any manager under bond in one of these States would have to live up to the

conditions in other States lest it be foriell A Haven From Immorality

Judge Lindsey has left no loopholes for the managers; as to the objectors, he ball carried the war into Africa. The immeral of the stage is a very old bugaboo, alm exorcised—and justly in all except the climps class of production, from which Judge Line sey would eliminate the child. Judge Lie sey finds more to corrupt youth in the ordnary conditions of home and school life. Il knows the city streets. He has talked to the little "criminals" that come to him "homes," where the mother is either about at work or absorbed in self-indulgence that go to schools where children mingis is discriminately under lax conditions. His law seen children of the same age and the class who have spent their time in the ile atre under the constant care and guidance mother or tutor. And this is his inevital

I make bold to suggest that there I make hold to suggest that there he as much, if not more, logic in provide thild inher laws against children gotts our public schools as against children too the stage. I believe that the worths average child in most of our public schools and the dangers to its mora are far greater than with the child as stage under that kind of safeguard a perfection that I am proposing.

The final case for the stage-child-the inted boy or girl freed, as we all should to follow where the spark of genius this is much the case for the new sort of to-There must be more of creative play, of unwilling tasks. There must be an timacy with the beautiful, more despricreation. The child must feel the s triendship of a single mind through the of culture that the bracen pres of art